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THE CANADIAN RAILROADER



GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION
VIEWED FROM A LEGAL STANDPOINT

THE DEEP, DARK SILENCE OF
CANADIAN FARMERS

OFFICIAL ORGAN,
FIFTH SUNDAY
MEETING ASSOCIATION
OF CANADA

MONTREAL, JUNE 19th, 1920

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Presidency on the Auction Block

(Dearborn Independent)

THE dollar hunt is on. The candidates will pass in through the door on the right, with their cheque books ready to open in their hands. The American people are on the verge of discovering whether the Presidency is a bargain sale, a horse auction, a seat on some international political and financial exchange which may be purchased by the highest bidder, or whether it is still the Gift Of The People.

The people are plainly puzzled by the large number of candidates and the dearth of genuine presidential timber. For that reason the state primaries lose half their indicative value. The people go to the primaries and if they vote at all they find three of four, or even half a dozen, names of men and women whom they never thought of as sitting in Lincoln's chair, and they must make their choice between them. By a simple method of voting for the one whose picture they have seen oftenest or the one of whom they have heard longest, or by the simpler method of voting for the one who they have been told has the least money, the primary returns are made up. Every voter comes away confessing that, though he has marked a cross against a candidate's name, he has not yet heard the Voice of the next President.

All that the lavish expenditure of money has purchased in this country is just that sort of a primary. And now it appears that even this kind of a primary costs so much as virtually to shut out the man who has not spent the major part of his life making money. There comes before the Congressional committee the spokesman of one of the candidates, by no means the most impressive one either, and admits the expenditure of \$404,984, of which more than \$371,175 was contributed by the candidate himself. It is not charged anywhere that this money was used to "buy" anything in the reprehensible sense, but that it cost this man that sum to make his modest announcement. Previous to this costly announcement he was not widely known beyond his own state. There was no national call for him to present himself for election. He just "ran." Men are doing that with the Presidency in somewhat the same way they would make a bid and a deposit for a big contract.

A defender of this system, engaged to defend an election case which later found its way into the courts, has made a plea for "the equality of dollars." Since all the men who seek the higher offices seem to be men who possess or can command money, let them go the pace as far and as fast as they like, for one man's dollar is as good as another's. So it would be, in a competition for the things which are measured in dollars—but it is the Presidency of the United States that is in question. Good Heavens!—have we fallen so low as to have brought the Presidency down to the level of a

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OLD GROUCH SAYS:

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seat on the stock exchange or a villa at Newport? Have we arrived at a time in our history when the higher regions of national politics are to be considered the private hunting preserve of the very rich? Is there no place anywhere that the blatancy of dollars may be hushed in respect to something greater than dollars?

There is no disgrace in being honestly wealthy. There is no disgrace in being successful. There is no disgrace in having friends who are willing to spend their own money in your behalf. That is not the point at all. But there is something not only disgraceful but positively menacing in the fact that the Presidency of the United States is being dragged off in the direction of the auction block. Why, if a professor bought or even campaigned with money for his election to the presidency of his university, if a priest used money however legitimately to secure his elevation to the bishopric, all our moral sensibilities would feel the shock of an alien spirit, destructive in its tendency and power. It is the same way with the Presidency of the Nation. It is in a peculiar sense a High Priest's place; it has always been held so by the men whose characters and services have kept the office white; and it must remain so. Better four years without a President, than by the exigency of an election seat a candidate whom neither the Office nor the People sought.

:o:

A new union was born under the flag of the Federation this week — the union of tunnelers and constructors of reservoirs in wood.

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The Farmers' Wall of Silence

(By GEORGE PIERCE.)

WHEN the political advisers of that most astute monarch, Louis the Eleventh, found themselves in an obnoxious dilemma concerning a matter of reform, they called upon the monarch and elaborately explained their fears if the progressives of that day were successful in attaining their ends. The monarch meditated in silence and then chanted solemnly: "Promise them everything that they ask for, and give them as little as they will take." This principle seems to be the order of the day in Ottawa. The politicians have their ears to the ground for all refrains that have their origin "way down on the farm." Whatever the farmer happen to ask for is promised him, if not by his own party leaders, then by the members of the old parties who are tremulously awaiting the first shocks of political battle from afar. He wanders like the ghost in the musty books and gloomy archives in solemn and crumbling castles in remote and shadowy lands. The farmer's ghost flits through the halls of parliament disturbing the slumbers of the men who are freighted with the solemn burdens of office.

The generally accepted panacea is, "Promise them everything they ask for and give as little as they will take", but there is a difficulty which challenges the success of applying the maxim. It is this. The farmer who will take six dollars a bag for his potatoes, may, possibly, allow the parliament buildings to remain where they stand, but he is also certain to take the breath of any politician flirtatiously inclined.

No one realizes better than ourselves the stern immobility of the farmer group. Nine months ago, hundreds of resolutions signed by the trades unions, clearly informed the agricultural groups that hundreds of thousands of trade unionists were not in sympathy with the free trade movement on the one hand, or monopolistic tariffs on the other. The middle course of a Tariff Board advocating scientific tariff investigation was endorsed as a substitute.

Silence, impenetrable silence was the answer from the farmer group.

Later we discovered that the farmers in the United States were the principle agitators for a Tariff Board in that country, and we politely asked the Canadian farmer, through his organization, to explain the unaccountable attitude of the Canadian farmer.

Silence — and the silence deepened until it became thick like the ancient silence of Egypt.

Then we printed the testimony of the farmers of the United States who prayed upon bended knee for a Tariff Board and we asked for the interpretation of these striking passages by the Canadian farmers.

Again silence. A short, cold and terribly severe silence. George Elliot says: "Blessed is the man, who, having nothing to say, abstains from giving wordy evidence of the fact." It has been said that a distinguished general could hold his tongue in ten languages. But the silence of a farmer official when confronted with a vexatious issue is one of monumental eloquence and ecstatic bliss which would extinguish the stars.

At considerable length, we explained the effect of political tariff battles in the lives of the workers. We demonstrated that through the Tariff Board great suffering could be spared to the worker. We earnestly advocated that a farmer representative be placed upon the Board to ensure proper representation and protection to the farmer group, but the farmer colossus exuded silence. Not a lip quivered, not a leaf rustled, not a chicken crowed, not a pump handle squealed, not even a dog barked way down on the farm.

However, we are not in despair. There must be some way of penetrating the great silence. There must be some means of learning why the farmer is opposed to a Tariff Board. Some wags have said that a man's profundity may keep him from opening on the first interview and caution might be responsible for discretion in the second interview, but that it was perfectly permissible to suspect emptiness as a defence if the reserve was carried to a third occasion. For ourselves, we shall not reach this conclusion until our thirty-third trial. For the present

we are content to believe that silence is a very safe course for any man who distrusts himself. Meanwhile, with our customary temerity, we still cherish the fond ambition that in some way, as yet undiscovered, we shall at least be able to provoke a giggle from the massive farmer sphinx.

THE CLOSED SHOP

By SAMUEL GOMPERS

The principle of the so-called "closed" shop is accepted in every-day business life; why may not an organization of workmen similarly make a bargain with an organization of employers?

The dealer will agree with the manufacturer to handle only a certain kind of goods. This is considered perfectly legitimate. Why does it seem unconstitutional when precisely the same bargain is entered into between the employer and his employees? The labor union says to the employer: "We will agree to furnish you with competent men at so much per day. We can control the men in our organization. They will abide by the contract we shall make. We cannot control the men who are outside of our organization, so we ask you to employ only our men, thus making your shop a union shop. If these outside men will agree to make the same contract with you that we have made, we shall be glad to have them into our organization, thus giving them the same privilege that we enjoy.

The average employer who fights so strenuously for the "God given right" of the non-union workingman to exercise his privilege of remaining out of the union if he so desires, declaring that shop must be an "open shop" for free men, will usually debar the man who exercised the same God given right by becoming a member of the trades union, so that practically his boasted "open shop" is closed to the unionist.

:o:

The degree of public sympathy with organized Labor was shown by the acclamations of the crowd at Loew's theatre Monday night when Samuel Gompers, the grand old man of Labor took his seat in a box.

* * *

Secretary Frank Morrison of the American Federation of Labor was made an Iroquois chief at Caughnawaga last Sunday.

* * *

Montreal leather workers have received a fifteen per cent advance and have also had their weekly working hours reduced by six.



FOR BREADS-CAKES
PUDDINGS-PASTRIES

To Save Germany From Falling to Pieces, Famous Editor Says, Allies Must Cease Punishing Her as Enemy and Deal With Her as Debtor

This is one of a series of articles in the New York World dealing with present-day conditions within the German Republic. It is entitled to consideration because it represents the observations and conclusions of one of Britain's foremost journalists, A. G. Gardiner, for many years editor of the important Liberal daily, the London Daily News. In his survey of Germany, from which he has just returned, Mr. Gardiner enjoyed the exceptional advantage of discussing the problems of the new republic with her most influential statesmen.

By A. G. Gardiner.

Berlin, May 10.

During the last fortnight I have been engaged in an attempt to find the truth about the condition of Germany, social, economical and political. I have talked with all sorts and conditions of men and women, from the Chancellor, Herr Mueller; the Foreign Secretary, Herr Koester; Herr Rathenau, Herr Dernburg; Lord Kilmarnock, the British Charge d'Affaires; Gen. Malcolm, the head of the British Military Mission in Berlin; Prince Lichnowsky, Prof. Delbrueck, M. Anguenin, the French economic representative; the organizers of the American Relief Mission and the English and American Friends' Relief Missions, to the people in their homes, the cabmen, the waiters, teachers, party leaders, tradesmen, university students, bankers, journalists and doctors. The detailed conclusions that emerge from these inquiries and from contact with the life of the people in all its main phases must be reserved for subsequent articles. The immediate task is to try to state the bearing of those conclusions upon the issues of the Spa Conference.

In its external aspects and on a surface view of things, Germany to-day might be said to show relatively little evidence of the convulsion through which she has passed. The machine of life still functions. The ingrained discipline of the people has survived the shock. There is the appearance of plenty in the hotel life of the cities, the theatres are full, and the Sunday crowds in the streets and the pleasure gardens are cheerful and comfortably dressed. But when one penetrates behind this facade to the realities, the falsity of the exterior impression becomes apparent. In the light of those realities Germany gives the impression of an enormous wreck that is drifting helplessly on the waters, without direction or control. All is confusion, despair and misery aboard. The Captain, having brought the ship to disaster, has fled; the crew is in mutiny, the grip of the extemporized Government is so feeble that it represents only the shadow of power; the people, stunned by the enormous catastrophe that has befallen them, hungry, disillusioned, leaderless, are like a flock of sheep in panic.

Outside, the storm beats on the hapless vessel. There is no power of resistance within and no visible hope of help from without. The vessel is doomed unless the waters subside and the work of rescue begins.

In a word, the issue at Spa is whether

do either, but we cannot do both. We can destroy her, in which case we shall get nothing, or we can help her to live, to work and to pay.

Assuming that the desire is that Germany should be kept as a going concern, the policy that should be initiated at Spa is clear. The first essential is a change of spirit. The war must be ended. It is still going on. It is impossible to live here without feeling that you are in the midst of a beleaguered people. The nation is still living and dying on half rations

has yet been admitted to England. One passport which had been granted has, I hear, now been cancelled. Germany's prison door still opens only from without. The war has been nominally over for more than a year and a half, but for the German people it is still raging in all the terms of hunger, isolation and revenge. No people can continue to survive in these appalling conditions of physical and mental strain. If Germany is to live and pay its debts, it must have hope. To-day it is a nightmare of despair.

It follows that if the Spa Conference is to open a new era it must meet to negotiate and not to dictate. If it is simply a repetition of Versailles, it will be worse than useless. It will make government impossible, for no Government can live in this chaos without some measure of visible success and some evidence of support from the outside world. The present Government is weak enough, but it represents the only combination that can keep Germany internally on its feet. It stands between the reactionaries and the revolutionaries, and if it goes down the two extremes will come into violent collision and complete the devastation of Germany.

As the result of a careful inquiry as to what the conference could do to redeem a desperate situation and keep some semblance of ordered government in being, I am disposed to put credits for food and raw materials first. I put them first because it is only through these things that new heart and new hope can be put into the people. They have been starving since 1916. They are starving still. There is nothing that would so immediately convince them that the shadow was passing away and that there was something to live for as sufficient food and the means of getting it. About their eagerness to work there can be no doubt. It is generally agreed that no belligerent people has settled down to work so industriously since the war or shown so high a power of production as the German people. This is specially revealed in the output of the coal mines. But the general industry of the country is still paralyzed, for with the German shilling worth little more than an English penny, raw material is unobtainable. Industries, like that of cotton, wholly dependent on foreign resources, are, of course, dead. They cannot be revived on the old terms of buying and selling. The only means by which they can be set going again is some system by which external capital supplies them with material from without, receives the manufactured product and allows for labor and the manufacturer's profit. Until the exchanges find some new level there can be no approximation to the ordinary conditions of production in industries which are not fed by home supplies.

But while food and raw material are the most immediate necessity and the quickest way of lifting the cloud of despair from the nation, they are only superficial remedies. Spa must cut much deeper than this to the root of the disease that is destroying Germany. That root is the indemnity. Six months have passed since the publication of Mr. Maynard Keynes's



A. G. Gardiner.

her Germany is to be kept as a going concern or is to fall to pieces irretrievably. There is still time to save her if there is disposition to save her; but the sands are running out. If Spa does not stop the process of internal dissolution Germany will be a corpse that will poison the world. Unless this certainty governs the attitude of the Allies at Spa, the conference will fail. The choice is between continuing to punish Germany as an enemy or dealing with her as a debtor. We can

of often unspeakable food; it is still enveloped by enemies, still cut off from free and equal intercourse with the world, still kept on the rack, not knowing from what quarter the next blow will fall. The ostracism of the nation is almost as complete to-day as it was in the days of the war. There are a score of English and American newspaper correspondents living here and living well (for you can get plenty of food in the great hotels), but not a single German correspondent

book on the economic meaning of the peace conditions. It is unanswered and unanswerable. By universal consent it showed that the terms laid down at Versailles were mere paper terms that had no relation to economic facts or possibilities. They laid on Germany a burden which she could not carry and under which she could never rise.

That was not the worst. Beyond the stated burden they set up an indeterminate claim that denied her the hope of ever recovering her economic freedom. The more she worked the more her debt increased. She was a debtor who could never clear off her indebtedness. She was doomed to permanent economic servitude. Such a condition ignored not only economic facts but elementary human considerations. No bankrupt can work without hope of becoming solvent. Give a bankrupt a reasonable goal to aim at and reasonable conditions for attaining it and he will set himself to the task with a will. But give him an ever receding and unattainable goal and he will collapse in despair. The unlimited indemnity hangs over Germany like a blight. It saps all initiative. It destroys all enterprise. It takes away all incentive to effort. Of all the phases of the catastrophe of Paris it was the most gratuitous and fatal, for it destroyed the will to work and therefore the capacity to pay. It must go before the driving power of hope can be put into the machine of German industry.

And in addition to dispersing this shadow the Spa Conference must face the real facts of Germany and make the limited indemnity conform to the actual and potential possibilities of the bankrupt. It is an axiom that you can get more out of a willing debtor than out of an unwilling. If Germany is given the prospect of ultimately clearing away her mountain of indebtedness, and if she has the assurance that her economic destruction is not a part of the Allied policy, she will work and she will pay. But we cannot have both her destruction and her money. Carthage was wiped out, but she did not pay indemnities from the ruins.

And in connection with the indemnity there should be economy from the Allied side. No single fact creates more bitter feeling here than the enormous waste in connection with the occupation. It is costing Germany three milliards of marks a year. One of the highest officials of the Government said to me, a little sorrowfully, that his income was just the same as that which the American private had received in the occupied territory. The private received 24,000 marks, a Sergeant 36,000 and a Colonel 360,000 marks. Apart from such indefensible incidents as the occupation of the right bank of the Rhine, there is no excuse for the present magnitude of the occupation. The cost could be well cut down to a milliard marks, leaving two milliard to go toward the indemnity. I venture to say that the "occupation" of Berlin by Gen. Malcolm and his modest British Military Mission is as effective as and far more beneficial in results than the occupation of the cities of the Rhineland by

great armies, black and white. And the cost is a fleabite in comparison.

There is a third practical question bearing on the capacity of Germany to pay that should engage attention at Spa. It is that of shipping. With the loss of her mercantile marine everything from overseas has to come into Germany in foreign bottoms at foreign rates and everything that is exported has to go out at foreign rates. This would not be a fatal handicap if the mark were worth a shilling. But with the value of the mark at little more than a penny it is an impossible handicap. It means that every cargo of wheat or commodities that comes into Hamburg and every cargo of exports that goes out pays more than ten times the cost of freight. A freight of \$24.00 in English money becomes a freight of \$240.00 in German money. Add this to the cost of material bought on the same terms and it will be seen that Germany in these circumstances can neither buy nor sell. And if she can neither buy nor sell she cannot work and cannot pay. There must be some accommodation on the question of shipping that will tide her over the present ruinous exchange. She must have enough tonnage to enable her to fetch and carry her own requirements and her own products at German freight rates instead of English, Dutch or American freight rates. This is a matter in which England can take the lead.

I must leave for a later article the question of the German Army. It is an extremely difficult and complicated subject that the Allies will do well to approach with great caution. It is less an external question than an internal one. German militarism as an international menace is the deadliest thing in this country. But as an economic and political force within the country it is one of the most living issues, and quite the most difficult to come to a wise judgment about. It can be left. For the moment it is enough to insist on the need of the Spa Conference striking a new note in this distracted world. It must mark the end of the war and the beginning of real peace conditions. Germany must leave the dock and be brought into council to help to save Europe and its civilization. For it is not only Germany that is drifting to ruin. If she goes down Europe will go down with her.

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Profiting by the opportunity while delegates to the American Federation of Labor, James Golden, president, accompanied by Thomas McMahon, vice-president, and Miss Sarah Comby, general secretary, of the International Union of Textile Workers, have been paying visits to the local unions.

* * *

Railroaders of Belleville, belonging to the various organizations, and including the ladies' auxiliary, attended a memorial service last Sunday conducted by the Rev. A. S. Kerr in honor of the members who gave their lives during the war and of those who died during the year from sickness or accident.

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MONTREAL - - - - - Canada

Objections to Teachers Joining the Union Movement

Answered in address here by Mr. L. V. Lampson, Vice-President and Field Secretary, American Federation of Teachers.

A WAG said last week that the American Federation of Labor convention was holding its public meetings in the St. Denis Theatre and its private meetings in the Railroader office. Certainly quite a small army of delegates dropped in to see us and talk things over, and it was all very interesting, enlightening and hopeful.

One of the visitors was Mr. L. V. Lampson, Vice-President and Field Secretary of the American Federation of Teachers, which is one of the novelties of the organized labor movement but already has 180 locals in existence, including locals in five universities and a number of normal schools.

Mr. Lampson gave an address before the Kiwanis Club on Thursday. He made a survey of the miserable wages paid to teachers in the United States and Canada, and dealt with a number of objections raised against unionization of teachers. The following were amongst the points he made:—

There are certain objections to the union movement which teachers have to consider and settle to their satisfaction before joining the American Federation of Teachers. In determining the validity of these objections they should give consideration to the viewpoint of those teachers who are within the ranks of the organization.

Truth may be said to be absolute; interpretation of truth relative. If one stands on the outside of a circle and looks at a given segment, it describes to him an arc of a particular character. If he stands on the inside of the circle and looks at the same segment, it describes to him an arc of a different character. He best interprets truth who gets the other person's viewpoint, who gets a composite interpretation of the facts in a given case.

One objection to the union movement is that teachers belong to a profession and therefore should not affiliate with organized labor. Union teachers feel that they are employees and can therefore properly affiliate upon this economic basis, if upon no other, with the other employed people of the country. In view of the pitiable compensation of the teachers and their lack of voice in determining matters of educational concern, they do not belong to a calling in which the conditions of a real profession exist. They are, in fact, subject to economic oppression, and in many parts of the country to a form of intellectual repression. It is our belief that teachers can be emancipated from these conditions only through the medium of a nation-wide business, protective, and professional organization of the teachers themselves, backed up and supported by the millions of organized labor.

A second objection is that it would be undignified for teachers to af-

firm themselves. Of all people, those least able to protect themselves are the teachers of the country. The facts are that we have not been accorded that respect whether measured in terms of money or public regard to which the character and value of our services justly entitle us.

A third objection is the strike. It should be realized that the American Federation of Labor grants to the American Federation of Teachers a charter of complete autonomy, which means that we have control over our policies and affairs. No teachers' union can be called out on a strike sympathetic or otherwise, by any labor organization. We are guaranteed in the constitution of the A. F. L. freedom from such interference.

There have been no strikes among union teachers. There have been a considerable number of strikes among non-union teachers in the United States and Canada. Those who condemn the union movement among teachers for the supposed use of the strike must necessarily commend us for our non-strike policy. We resort to publicity, organization and political action as the means of getting results.

A fourth objection is that by reason of the affiliation we are subject to the control of organized labor. Nothing could be further from the truth. This whole matter resolves itself into the question: "What does organized labor expect from the teachers in return for the support accorded them?" In the first place, the American Federation of Labor is

an organization made up of employed people. We are employees and are eligible to membership. Labor leaders are candidly ambitious to build up their organization. It is a proper ambition. In the second place, organized labor is guilty of the crime of wanting to be understood. In the third place, responsible leaders look upon the teachers as a further steady influence in the ranks of labor. Neither of these two points requires elaboration. In the fourth place, and most important of all, organized labor is interested in the improvement of educational facilities.

I remember that Mr. Hugh Magill, legislative representative of the National Education Association called me upon the 'phone one day to relate a conversation which he had just had with Mr. Henry Sterling, legislative representative of the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Magill said: "Sterling tells me that we need have no concern as to the support of the A. F. of L. for the Smith-Towner bill revised, because there is no subject in respect to which organized labor throughout the country is so united, as the improvement of the public school system." Labor leaders want our co-operation in bringing about the improvement of our educational system. Instead of being controlled, we are by reason of our affiliation able to influence a large extent the educational programme of the American Federation of Labor.

A fifth objection is that the teachers are servants of the whole people, they therefore should not affiliate with any particular group or class. This is the favorite argument of a certain prominent educator who puts the following query up to union teachers to answer: "Why do not teachers affiliate with the Chamber of Commerce? Why not with the Bar Association? Why not with the Methodist Church? Why not with the Medical Association? Why not with the Grange? Why with Organized Labor?" The answer is easily given. All teachers cannot join the Chamber of Commerce; they are not all financially able. All teachers cannot join the Bar Association; they are not all lawyers. All teachers cannot join the Medical Association; they are not all doctors. All teachers cannot join the Methodist Church; they are not all Methodists. All teachers cannot join the Grange; they are not all farmers. But all teachers can join the American Federation of Labor, because they are all employees. In this connection it should be pointed out that the other groups do not make it possible for the teachers to affiliate with them in large numbers. We believe that to the extent it is possible teachers should connect up with various group of society, in order that they may more effectively serve the people as a whole.

Labor believes in schools for all the people, not for a part of the people. We maintain that we do not surrender our purpose, but further it, when we affiliate with organized labor. In the promotion of an end

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there must always be a selection of means. It is conceivable that the persons who join the Republican party believe that by so doing they promote the good of the whole country. The party is to them a means of promoting the public good. The members of this party constitute but part of the people. And sometimes they are not patriots, but partisans. Yet one would not deny them the right to organize, especially if they believe that by so doing they are promoting the public good.

To say that teachers cannot affiliate with organized labor because they are servants of the whole people is, we repeat, a confusion of the means with the end. It amounts not only to a denial of the rights of the teachers to organize in the way proposed, but in reality constitutes, if carried out to its final conclusion, a denial to all groups of the right to organize. Groups of people cannot form labor unions, nor granges, nor bar associations, nor political parties, because, forsooth, these organizations are made up of only a part of the people. It may be said that they should. But they probably could not serve even themselves if they were not properly organized. It might also be said that teachers may organize, provided they organize by themselves. This proposition involves the isolation on the part of the teachers as a distinct class, apart from the rest of the people. We propose to smash this conception of the teachers as a distinct class. It is asserted that since the teachers are servants of society as a whole, they cannot affiliate with the great mass of working men and women. This assertion, carried to its logical conclusion, involves a dilemma, one horn of which precludes teachers from organizing by themselves and the other horn of which requires that they establish an organization which embraces the whole people. The first line of reasoning permits no organization at all for teachers, for they must serve not themselves, but all the people. The second line leads to a requirement impossible of performance. It seems clear to us that teachers may affiliate with organized labor and still serve the people as a whole. Certainly, from the standpoint of education, the American Federation of Labor, whose members believe in schools for all the people, cannot be regarded as a class organization. Our critics, in raising this issue, themselves reveal an unfortunate consciousness of class distinction utterly foreign to American and Canadian ideals.

No teacher should join the American Federation of Teachers unless he can approve of the ideals of the organization. As the writer interprets these, they are as follows:

We believe in the ideal of an efficient teaching personal. You can have schools without school buildings, but you cannot have schools without school teachers.

We believe in the ideal that teachers should know life. Education is supposed to be adjustment of life.

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These are our ideals. In the American Federation of Teachers we have an agency whereby we can transform these ideals into definite and concrete action.

Levis tramway employees who were on strike have returned to work following the Mayor's acceptance of increased fares giving 4 tickets for 30 cents which the company said was necessary before it could grant increased wages.

Babson Considers Labor Licked

Babson's Statistical Service, which supplies advice to big business in the United States, is out with a confidential report in which employers are told that Labor is licked to a standstill. Mr. Babson is one of those who plead with employers to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards Labor, so that the worker will not get angry and kick over the traces. In this report, he tells employers that now they have Labor licked they must not humiliate it as the allies humiliated Germany with impossible peace terms.

This statement that Labor is beaten, is Mr. Babson's own conclusion. The most interesting thing in this new confidential report is a frank confession that the employers control the schools, the pulpit and the newspapers. Here are the most interesting parts of the report:

"There is no doubt about it — Labor is beaten. . . . For one thing, peace urgency has replaced war urgency and we are not willing to bid for peace labor as we had to bid for war labor. For another thing, the employing class is immensely more powerful than it was in 1914.

"We have, then, an organized labor force more numerous than ever before. Relatively twice as many

workers are organized as in 1916. But this same labor force has lost its hold on the public. Furthermore, it is divided in its own camp. It fears capital. It threatens, but it does not dare.

"We said that the employing class was immensely more powerful than in 1914. There is more money at its command. Eighteen thousand new millionaires are the war's legacy. This money capacity is more thoroughly unified than ever. In 1914, we had 30,000 banks, functioning in a great degree in independence of each other. Then came the Federal Reserve Act and gave us the machinery for consolidation and the emergency of five years' war furnished the hammer blows to weld the structure into one.

"The war taught the employing class the secret and the power of widespread propaganda. Imperial Europe had been aware of this power. It was new to the United States. Now, when we have anything to sell to the American people, we know how to sell it. We have learned. We have the schools. We have the pulpit. The employing class owns the press. There is practically no important paper in the United States but is theirs."

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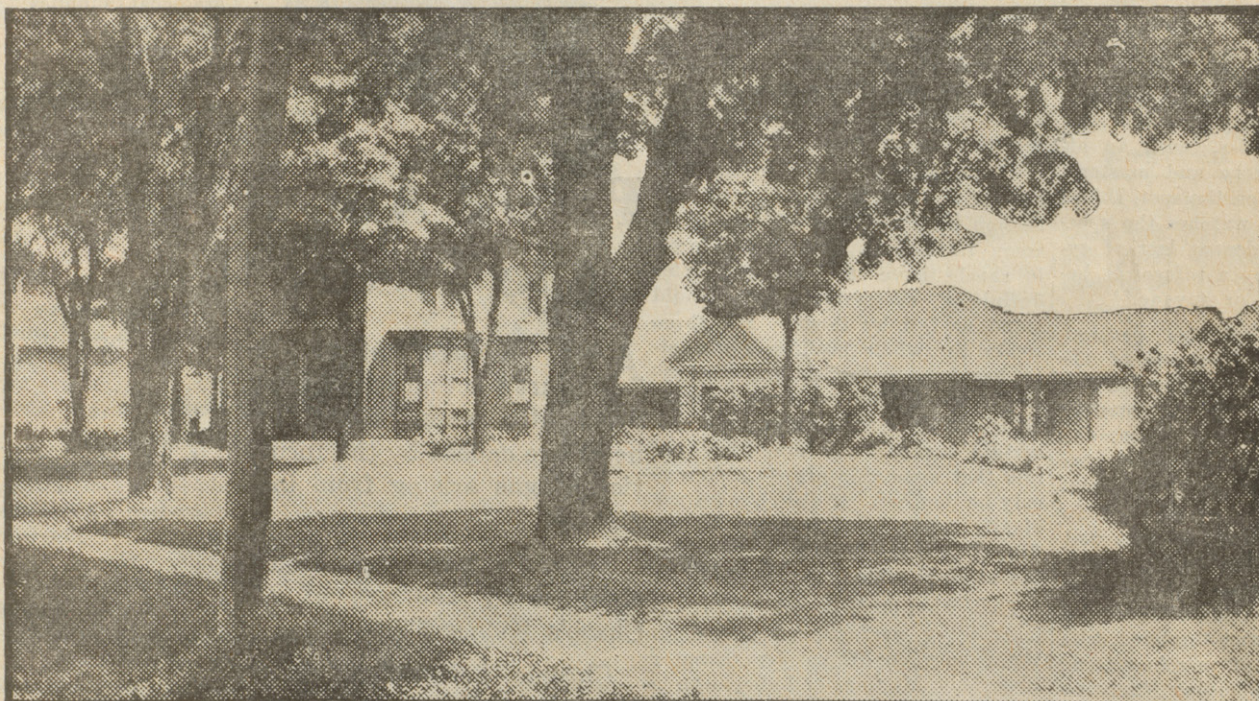
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Strewing the Way With Flowers

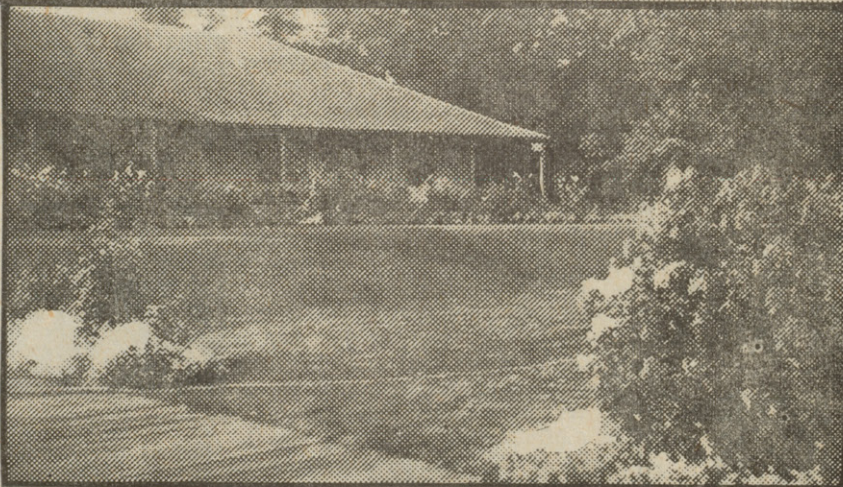


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Flowers are amongst the assets of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Flowers bloom in C.P.R. gardens at most of the principal stations from one end of the country to the other. There are flower knots outside the Algonquin Hotel at St. Andrews, on the Atlantic coast, and one of the most beautiful flower gardens in America blooms around the Empress Hotel in Victoria.

In the old days most of the pioneers were too busy opening up the untrodden ways to give much attention to the cultivation of flowers. Yet flower cultivation along the C.P.R. seems to have progressed with the commercial prosperity of the railway system itself, for it is now thirty-one years since one of the C.P.R. employees produced a few varieties of flower seeds in his own plot and distributed them amongst his friends at some of the stations—with the object of starting flower gardening along the line. The start was auspiciously made, and now the C.P.R. has a floral department with headquarters at Windsor Street Station, Montreal. Mr. B. M. Winnegar is the horticulturist and forester.

Every year thousands of packets of flower seeds, bulbs, trees, shrubs, grass seed, and large quantities of fertilisers are distributed free of charge to station agents, section foremen, caretakers of round houses and employees living on the property of the company. The seeds that will



North Bend, B.C.

flower along the railway in the summer and autumn are sent out in March. Full particulars for cultivation are printed on each seed packet. Bulbs for spring flowering are sent out in the fall.

Seeds and plants of the best kind are always provided. Standard flower seed packets contain nasturtiums, alyssum, mignonette, sweet peas, phlox and kochia. Ferns and house plants are sent to large stations. An endless variety of perennials are distributed, and amongst the varieties of trees supplied are maple, birch, beech, poplar and catalpa. Shrubs include laurel leaf willow, sumac, berberies and weigelia.

In all cases the cultivation of flower beds is done by the employees of the company, many of whom have become expert gardeners. On each

division of the C.P.R. prizes are given every year for the best display of flowers, and some of the products of gardens kept by the railway amateurs have won prizes at Canadian and United States floral exhibitions.

During the last thirty-one years the encouraging influence of the C.P.R. flower growers has materially assisted in the inauguration of floral societies all over the country. Many of the railway officials are members of these societies. Flowers have improved the appearance of the railway stations, and inspired by the beauty of the stations, residents of the towns have planted flowers that beautify their homes. A little flower flame along the C.P.R. has often thrown the spark that ignited a fire of flowers.

Our OTTAWA LETTER

(From Our Own Correspondent)

"Some governments survive by reason of their merits, others because they fatigue our capacity for indignation. There came a point of saturation when public opinion is constantly bemused with untruths and halftruths, with parallel and contradictory policies, with an atmosphere of trickery and mystery. It does not revolt on the spot. It lies back in its chair, watches the spectacle with a broadening leer of cynicism and ends by a refusal to believe in anything or anyone."

Every syllable of this passage, which is part of a criticism of the British Coalition by the London Nation, is applicable to our strange band of governors at Ottawa, and proof of a most tangible nature has been furnished by the Government itself last week. Three weeks ago Sir Henry Drayton brought down a budget in which certain new taxes were levied. They awoke heated criticisms in every quarter of the country and Ottawa was thronged with irate deputations of merchants and business men demanding their removal or alterations. Now Sir Henry tells us what we all know that a monopoly of economic wisdom does not reside in the Finance Department and suggests changes of a far-

reaching nature. He is willing to take suggestions from the House and is agreeably ready to share the unpopularity of the new imposts with any one. At present the luxury tax is in a state of flux and no man knows what its final form may be. Was there ever such a performance?

A government may reduce the amount of the rates levied or it may change the method of collection but when its Budget is brought down, it should have its basic principles definitely ascertained and should stand or fall by them. For three weeks the whole business community has been going on the assumption that the luxury taxes were to be levied at certain rates and in a certain manner and now they are told that something utterly different may be devised. If the changes are finally made, are there to be refunds of taxes already paid under the original scale?

Then what shall be said of the extraordinary performance staged in the Senate on Wednesday. Senator Robertson, Minister of Labor, who is a well-meaning man and having a conscience, is fully aware of the indefensibility of the deportation amendments to the Immigration Act which discriminate against the British-born, recently brought down a bill to remove at least their worst features and limit the period within which deportation of British-born people can take place to five years. It is an unsatisfactory compromise as Britishers should stand on the footing as other people, but it was a step in the right direction and it might be hoped that none but double-dyed reactionaries would oppose it. As the measure was introduced by a Minister, it presumably was the result of the considered decision of the Cabinet, and by its fate they are bound to stand or fall. It has met with ferocious opposition from Senators of both parties and the amazing speeches delivered during its discussion reveal a depth of ignorance and lack of contact with modern thought in our Upper Chamber which cannot have a parallel in any other legislative body outside Guatemala and Morocco.

Senator Robertson struggled bravely against heavy odds and received not the slightest iota of support from his leader and colleague, Sir James Loughheed. In fact, the latter, by his calculated abstention from a critical division, gave a lead to his henchmen which has now resulted in the bill being killed by 30 to 17. The division was non-party and Senator Bostock must bear a large share of the blame as he voted against them. But is was a Government measure and if the Government had cared to exercise the customary pressure on their followers such as is brought into play on critical oc-



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casions, they could have carried their bill. The truth is that many of the Government do not want the bill to carry; they simply want to make a pretence of amending the clauses, see it fail, and profess great sorrow, but keep them intact in all their obnoxiousness.

A defeat on a Government measure in the Commons would entail the resignation of the Cabinet, but it need not necessarily do so when the Upper House is the scene. The proper course for Senator Robertson is to insist to the Cabinet that the bill be reintroduced at once in the Commons and backed with all the strength of the Government.

On Monday Mr. King attempted in vain to secure some information as to when it was proposed to hold an election in East Elgin. The six months within which all vacancies must now be filled by by-elections are slipping by and there is no sign of a writ. Dr. Tolmie produced a resolution dealing with commercial feeding stuffs and the rural members found it a fruitful source of dis-

cussion. Mr. Meighen sought authority to maintain control of coal operations in District No. 18 and confirm a variety of orders-in-council passed in this connection. Out of this there arose a general discussion as to the fuel supplies of Canada and many suggestions were offered for the utilization of the western coal supplies. One difficulty about most of the western coal is that it will not stand storing.

Mr. King and Mr. Meighen had a somewhat lively clash, the former objecting to granting any authority because the orders in council had not been produced for inspection, and Mr. Meighen accusing him of finetuning needless delays. Mr. King accused the Minister of the Interior of having the Tory point of view and Mr. Meighen retorted that Mr. King was in dreamland. The matter was allowed to stand over and Mr. Meighen got through some estimates for his Soldier Settlement Board.

In the evening Mr. Rowell introduced his estimates for the Royal Canadian Northwest Police. The strength of the force is at present 1808, which is at least three times its numbers in the days of its glory. The expenditure is enormous for the size of the force and the work which it performs.

Mr. White of Alberta, who once served in the ranks of the R. N. W. P., told Mr. Rowell that he had lowered the tone and the prestige of the force by the tasks to which he had turned it, and expressed regret that the old R. N. W. P. had not been disbanded and allowed to fade out of existence with its original glory untarnished.

Mr. Butts of Cape Breton, who is the only real "character" in the House, was mightily indignant that Mr. Rowell's police should be sent down among the Arcadian community of Cape Breton, and explained how free from sin and crime his constituents were. He besought Mr. Rowell not to send "hayseeds from away across the plains down to Nova Scotia," and described Mr. Rowell's project as "sheer childishness". Mr. Lemieux and other Eastern members declared there was not the slightest need for the force in the East as the provincial and municipal police were sufficient to cope with all difficulties. Mr. Rowell talked loftily about the need of having a force available everywhere to maintain law and order.

Mr. King pointed out that the Minister was asking for his police two-thirds of the whole sum that was asked for the Militia estimates in 1910-11. Continual sniping at the President of the Privy Council went on for two hours, but he was eventually allowed to get some of his estimates through.

Sir H. Drayton was allowed to pass an interim supply bill, allowing the expenditure of one-sixth of each of the estimates.

On Tuesday there was an interesting little ceremony when Sir R. Borden, seconded by Mr. King, moved a resolution thanking the

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Lord Chancellor, the Speaker and the members of the Empire Parliamentary Association in the Lords and Commons, for the gift to the Canadian House of Commons of a Speaker's chair. Once more Sir Robert declined to give any information about increased sessional indemnities. The pressure on the part of the members is increasing as the

and of the session draws in sight, but there are several obstacles. For one thing Mr. Crerar and most of his following absolutely decline to join in the raid on the public purse. It is also believed that most of the Cabinet, knowing the outcry which will inevitably rise from the soldiers and civil servants who feel the community owes them more money, are

opposed to granting any increase. They fear to alienate any of their following by a definite refusal to materialize, as they say they dare not propose any increase unless all parties agree to it.

The Bankruptcy Act Amendment was passed through the rest of its stages and Mr. Meighen got some estimates disposed of. Most of the day was taken up in discussing the features relating to the Income Tax and Business War Profits Tax.

Wednesday saw the Budget once more in committee. Mr. Archambault moved an amendment to raise the exemption for children from \$200 to \$500, but it was negatived, as was another by Mr. Hume Cronyn to exempt contributions to hospitals, asylums, and other charitable institutions.

In the evening Sir H. Drayton startled the house with the announcement of a long series of changes in the excise taxes, which will completely transform their incidence. The main alteration is that on boots and shoes and all staple articles of clothing. The rate of the luxury tax will be raised from 10 to 15 per cent, but it will only be paid on the sum in excess of the minimum at which the luxury stigma attaches. In other schedules there are numerous and important alterations which reflect the pressure of the train of deputations.

The changes are all to the good, as in their original form many ordinary necessities of life were burdened with the luxury tax. But the Government should have realized their effect ere they proposed them, and it is now being roundly abused by the whole mercantile community. Business men after painstaking study had just succeeded in mastering the intricacies of the original taxes and making their calculations accordingly. Now they are told that they must begin their researches all over again. Meanwhile the original resolutions stand and it may be some weeks ere they are finally ratified by both houses. As many of the rates are lowered no one is going to make purchases if he or she thinks they can save money by waiting, and as a result merchants see before them at least a fortnight of paralyzed trade.

Dr. Michael Clark has never liked the financial policy of the Budget, but words almost fail him when he comes to deal with the latest sample of the Government's incoherent mentality and is cheerful readiness to violate all established practices.

Subsequently Mr. Burrell introduced a measure providing for an increase on postal rates on periodicals which aroused some controversy. In the past the Government has been carrying newspapers at a very great loss, and it proposes to diminish the deficit. There is also to be some curtailment of the franking privilege.

On Thursday the House returned to the Coal Bill, which passed out of Committee. The Opposition offered strenuous objection to some of its provisions and forced one division, but the progressives were against

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them and they were beaten by 49. The Board of Commerce report was tabled, but it did not contain the letters anent the resignation of Judge Robson, which everyone would like to see. Some progress was made with a variety of minor bills, including a measure to amend the provisions of the criminal code in regard to race track gambling.

This bill got its third reading on Friday, to the sorrow of Mr. Crothers and Mr. A. R. McMaster. The latter delivered an impassioned oration upon the evils of racetrack gambling, which he regards as a terrible evil. In such matters, Mr. McMaster is inclined to develop an ultrapuritanical strain, which is scarcely harmonious with the best brand of liberalism. Then the luxury taxes were taken up again in committee and produced an endless train of speeches and protests. Dr. Clark once more told the Finance Minister what his opinion of his tactics was, and Mr. Nicholson, Mr. Loggie and other wiseacres gave the House the benefit of their business lore at inordinate length.

Sir Henry admitted many faults and deficiencies, but always took refuge in the cry that the money had to be obtained somehow. One of the chief complaints of the critics was that the new taxes would cause enormous trouble in their collection. Mr. Crerar moved an amendment to make the taxes collected only by the manufacturers and wholesalers. At least half a score of government supporters had favored such a course in their speeches, but when asked to vote for it, they lost their nerve and the amendment was lost by 12 votes. Another amendment to exempt from the luxury taxes soldiers who had been overseas and their dependents for five years was also lost.

The Government if it has any lingering notions about increasing members' indemnities, should take note of how the increase of the salary of Australian M.P.s from £600 to £1,000 has been received by the electors. A recent dispatch states that the latter are vocally indignant. Politicians who joined the royal procession when the Prince of Wales landed were the object of hostile demonstration and on returning from a review, Mr. Hughes, the Prime Minister, as he motored through Melbourne, was compelled to listen to continuous cries of "Grabber."

J. A. Stevenson.



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RUSSIA DISORGANIZED INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY RE- STRICTED, SAY BRITISH LABOR DELEGATE

The first report of the British Labor delegates who have just returned from an investigation of conditions in Soviet Russia was made public in London on June 11.

The delegates declare themselves deeply impressed with the distress and disorganization which they found in Russia, the dejection of the people, and the extent of the Government's interference with individual liberty. The report is said to be unanimous.

The report describes the blockade as injurious to the world and disastrous to Russia and makes reference to the epidemic of diseases to which the absence of soap and medical supplies has given full sway, although great efforts have been made toward the sanitation. Denouncing the Polish war, the report says:

"The appeal for creative work is being once more set aside in favor of an appeal to military enthusiasts, while the war conditions provide new pretexts for restricting individual liberty and preventing freedom of discussion."

The report says war rallies all parties to the defence of the country; it emphasizes the breakdown in manufactures through lack of raw material and advocates the immediate recognition of Russia.

The report was brought to England by Benjamin Turner and Tom Shaw, members of the British Labor delegation which visited Russia for presentation to the Labor Congress at Scarborough. They brought also a letter from Nikolai Lenine, the Bolshevik premier exhorting the workers to revolution in England, which has created a sensation.

Lenine criticizes the surprise expressed by the delegation at the "Red Terror", the suppression of freedom of the press and free assembly, and declares that the workingmen against exploiters, and that freedom of the press and assembly in a bourgeoisie democracy means freedom to plot against the workingmen. In turn Lenine expresses surprise that the viewpoint of part of the delegation coincides with the bourgeoisie.

No wonder things don't go right with us—An old-fashioned philosopher, after meditating earnestly on what ails the world today, recently gave vent to the following list of ills, which was printed in "The Shop Mark", house organ of Berkey & Gay Grand Rapids, Mich.:

Too many diamonds and not enough alarm-clocks.

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Too many pointed-toed shoes and not enough square-toed ones.

Too many serge suits and not enough overalls.

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ALLEGED NATURAL LAW IS TRICKERY AND BUNK.

That claim that the law of supply and demand is as immutable as is the law of gravitation, was referred to as trickery and unadulterated bunk by Fair Price Commissioner McClain, in a speech to members of the chamber of commerce at Philadelphia recently.

"The law of supply and demand isn't being given a fair chance to operate", he said. "The law of supply and demand has been diverted from its natural track — has been shunted unto a siding."

The speaker declared that in the case of wearing apparel the law of supply and demand hasn't got a look-in."

"Investigations made by special agents of the department of justice, of the charges of percentage over cost made by the retailer on the articles of wear for men, women and children, disclose a plundering of the public in comparison with which train robbing is as respectable, but not as profitable," he said.

The Commissioner stated that men's overcoats are selling in this city at prices 91 to 107 per cent higher than cost to retail dealer, with ready-made clothing 90 to 107 per cent higher, women's hosiery 100 to 150 per cent, and high grade shoes 100 to 114 per cent higher. He warned his hearers of a growing social unrest, which is directly caused by profiteering and not by foreigners, and declared that business men who cannot see the storm clouds that are gathering in the social sky are "as blind as bats and as deaf as adders."

The speaker said that these conditions create 10 Bolsheviks for every Goldman and Berkman that a soviet ark can haul to some Russian port.

"We cannot say to those people who protest, 'Go back where you came from', because where they came from is here. — "Weekly News Letter."

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LABOR IN POLITICS

(Ottawa Citizen.)

The refusal of the American Federation of Labor at its Montreal session to give additional support to President Gompers' non-political programme by establishing a non-partisan political propaganda bureau may be interpreted as a victory for the element desirous of having labor participate in politics as an organization. The resolution declared that the bureau proposed by Mr. Gompers was "unnecessary" at this time.

In 1912 the American Federation of Labor had 1,800,000 members; in February of this year it had 4,407,301 members. For many years there has been discussion within the organization of the best manner of using this strong membership for political purposes. There have been numerous labor party offshoots and one is now in process of organization. But the main body of the organization has managed to remain non-partisan. Mr. Gompers would have it remain so. He says in this connection:

"Do you think for a moment that we could have gone as the American labor movement to the other political parties and said: 'We want you to inaugurate in your platform this and this declaration?' If one of the parties had refused and the other party consented and took its chance, would the American Feder-

ation of Labor have been permitted to exercise that independent political and economic course if the labor party had been in existence? How long would we have had to wait for the passage of a law by Congress declaring in practice and in principle that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or an article of commerce—the most far-reaching declaration ever made by any government in the history of the world?"

In 1912 the federation entered the presidential campaign with considerable force. In 1916, owing to the war, it took no part. This year it is making its greatest effort, through the non-partisan channel. Mr. Gompers says:

"The present non-partisan political campaign being conducted by the American Federation of Labor follows the established policy of American labor in political endeavor. The effort of labor in this campaign is being conducted in accordance with that non-partisan policy. The present campaign is the most energetic and sweeping in which labor has engaged for two reasons. There are twice as many organized workers as there were in the 1912 campaign, and there is a greater need for energetic protection of the rights and liberties of the masses of our people. The elements of reaction have never been so blind, never so unthinking, never so brutal and bigoted. The non-partisan campaign of organized labor and the enthusiasm that surrounds it are the best guarantee America has to-

day of the ability of democracy to defend itself against unscrupulous and predatory attack from within the republic."

The largest labor delegation in congress was that of two years ago, when there were nineteen in the group. This year there are sixteen and the idea of Mr. Gompers is to increase that number. In 1916 labor secured its greatest platform achievement when the Democrats embodied in their programme an affirmation of faith in the Seamen's Act; in favor of child labor legislation; or creation of a bureau of safety in the department of labor; extension of the powers of the federal bureau of mines; development of the federal employment service and a commendation of the department of labor as a whole.

On the other hand the element that favors partisan action has not been idle. It points to the success of the Non-Partisan League in the America northwest, particularly in the Dakotas, Socialists are in favor of partisan action and there are many Socialists in the ranks of labor, moderate Socialists who keep their feet on the ground. These declare that labor can never be 100 per cent. effective as a voting factor unless it is a partisan organization politically.

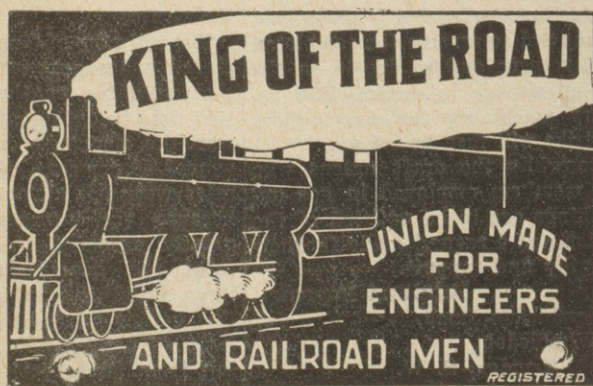
The Montreal vote would go to show that while the element favoring the plan of Mr. Gompers is still strong enough to prevent partisanship, it is hardly strong enough to

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link up the organization more closely than at present with its own side. The federation will make every effort to elect candidates favorable to labor and to defeat those inimical to its interest with the machinery it at present possesses or is creating, but it will not further bind itself to such a course. Obviously much will depend on the result of this year's efforts. If labor returns a larger number of representatives under the existing plan it will likely be adopted as a permanent policy, or at least adhered to, as against the partisan plan. If it should lose ground the influences favoring a labor party as such will have gained much strength within the organization.



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OUR LONDON LETTER

(From our own Correspondent.)

London, May 21st.

Railwaymen have held the centre stage position this week. The National Wages Board, on which sit representatives of the companies, the unions and the railway users, has been hearing arguments for and against the claim of one union for \$5.00 a week advance for all members and of another of flat rate wages of \$5.00 a day for drivers, \$2.50 for firemen and \$3.25 for cleaners.

It may be mentioned in passing that the third railway union, the Railway Clerks' Association, has this week at its annual conference declared for a new programme of a 25 per cent. advance.

The great future of the proceedings before the National Board has been the remarkable clearness and moderation with which the case for the men was put. For the National Union of Railwaymen the spokesman was C. T. Cramp, industrial secretary, and John Bromley, general secretary, and John Bromley, general secretary, Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, handled the matter for that union.

Cramp made some specially good points. I will quote a few:

I am not basing this case on the cost of living.

The national settlement of last January was accepted (this is one of the two main points that I put forward as justifying this application) under protest.

Those of us who were conversant with the whole course of the negotiations at that time were convinced that it could not be a settlement of very long duration.

In the second place, this application is put forward because the last agreement was arrived at prior to the review of the conditions of men in many other large industries with whom our men come very much into contact.

It is impossible for the men in any one industry to remain unaffected by the conditions obtaining in any other industry.

You have to regard the industrial workers, generally speaking, as one whole.

We are asking you to help us to maintain the efficiency, the health, the comfort and, what is more, the self-respect of the railwaymen.

Methods of transport are possible in this country which can equal, if not excel, the methods in any other country in the world.

But if that is to be accomplished, it is necessary to have a contented railway staff, a staff which shall not feel that it is the Cinderella of industry.

In reply to J. H. Thomas, General Secretary of the N. U. R. who is a member of the Board, Cramp said that about 400,000 workers would be affected by the claim. He stated in

answer to the chairman than the claim was for \$5 for everyone, irrespective of age or sex."

The rest of the Cramp's statement consisted chiefly of comparisons between the wages of railwaymen and those of men in other occupations. He compared, for instance, the \$3.75 a day paid to a railway driver with the \$4.25 paid to a daywage man in the South Wales collieries; the \$15 a week paid to a Grade I railway porter with the \$17.50 starting wage of a policeman under the Desborough scale, or the \$22.50 paid to laborers employed by the Swansea Corporation. In reply to leading questions from J. H. Thomas, he added a comparison between the \$2.50 a day of the goods porter at a Class I station and the new 16s. minimum of the docker alongside him and performing almost identical work.

About a dozen witnesses were heard in support of Cramp's case. They included a foreman platelayer, a signalman, a goods' guard, a foreman shunter, a travelling ticket collector, an engine driver, a fireman, a carriage examiner and several goods checkers. In every case they argued that wage advances granted to various other bodies or workers, —policemen, casual laborers, piano workers, dockers, colliery platelayers, tobacco workers, tramwaymen, municipal scavengers add the rest—had depressed the economic status of the railwaymen and engendered a widespread feeling of discontent.

Bromley called nine witnesses and then the companies replied through an official. The evidence called by the railway managers was chiefly remarkable for the official statement by a chartered accountant that it would cost \$125,000,000 a year to cover the claim of the National Union of Railwaymen, \$15,000,000 for the claim of the locomotive engineers and firemen, and \$35,000,000 for the shopmen.

He also stated that the wages paid before the war were \$120,000,000 which had already been increased to \$390,000,000. But he admitted in answer to Mr. Thomas that the number of men employed had increased by 80,000 and that the revenue had increased from \$590,000,000 to \$1,140,000,000.

It has been decided by the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee to attack the problem of high prices in earnest.

To a special conference will be summoned not only the Labor Party executive, the Parliamentary Committee and the Parliamentary Labor Party, but the Consumers' Council and representatives of the co-operative movement and some of the large trade federations. The proposal to be submitted to it by the Parliamentary Committee of the Congress is that a commission shall be set

up at once to make a full investigation of the causes and incidence of high prices and to recommend remedies and the method of securing effect for those remedies.

Another matter of considerable importance just now is the steps being taken to re-organize the directive forces of labor and make them more efficient. It is hoped to form a General Staff with wide advisory powers, though not executive and to prosecute the following aims:

Research: To secure general and statistical information on all questions affecting the worker as producer and consumer by the co-ordination and development of existing agencies.

Legal advice on all questions affecting the collective value of the members of working class organizations; and publicity, including preparation of suitable literature dealing with questions affecting the economic, social and political welfare of the people; with machinery for inaugurating special campaigns to meet emergencies of an industrial or political character.

There is considerable likelihood of a strike amongst the workmen employed throughout the country.

James O'Grady, secretary of the National Federation of General Workers reports that the ballot is so far overwhelmingly in favor of handing in notices. "The minority, in fact", he added, "is so small as to be negligible."

The ballot will not be completed until June 2nd.

An increase of \$2.50 a week is asked, together with improved overtime and an annual holiday. Ballot papers to the number of 95,000 have been issued.

A further conference is to be held on June 2nd to receive the completed ballot returns and to decide on the date of notices to expire. The necessary machinery for carrying out the strike will then be set up.

Meanwhile the craft unions who have members employed in gas undertakings are to be notified of the position and a request made for their sympathy and support.

Ethelbert Pogson.

22 Hambledon Road,

Wimbledon,

London, S. W.

—:o:—

FOREIGN RAILWAYS

AND RATES

During December, 1919, and January, 1920, the Italian railways advanced their first-class passenger fares 80 per cent, their second-class fares 60 per cent, and their third-class fares 50 per cent. Both freight and passenger rates already during the war had been advanced 30 to 45 per cent.

The passenger rates of the French railways, two of which are owned by the government and all of which are being operated under government control, were advanced 40 per cent during the war and the freight rates 30 to 37 per cent. Because of the deficits which have continued to be incurred proposals for further ad-

vances have been under consideration.

The advances in rates on the Austrian railways since pre-war days have been enormous. The increase of 30 per cent made in February 1920, made the total increases about 330 per cent.

In September, 1919, freight and passenger rates in Belgium had been increased 40 to 50 per cent since pre-war times. Further increases have been made since then.

In September, 1919, freight and passenger rates in The Netherlands were advanced 50 per cent.

Very much the largest advances reported in any country have been made in Germany, where, it is well known, practically all the railways are owned and operated by the government. Repeated advances were made during the war and still further very great advances have been made since the signing of the armistice. The passenger rates now average about 700 per cent. higher than before the war, and the freight rates about 800 per cent higher.

Large advances in rates have also had to be made in many countries which were remote from the seat of hostilities. For example, in December, 1919, all freight and passenger rates on the South African Government railways were advanced 25 per cent, while in August, 1919, a raise of 20 per cent in both freight and passenger rates was made in Brazil, and in October of the same year additional increases were proposed. Even in Australia, which was about as remote from the theatre of hostilities as any part of the world, all the government railways have suffered severely from the effects of the war and have had to make advances in their rates.

The railways of Great Britain were placed under government control at the beginning of the war and are still thus being operated. During the war the passenger rates were advanced 50 per cent, while the freight rates were not advanced at all, and because the increases in expenses greatly exceeded the increases in rates the government incurred a large deficit. To reduce or wipe out this deficit advances in the freight rates of the British railways ranging from 25 to 100 per cent were made effective on January 15, 1920, and extra charges were added to rates which cover the collection and delivery of freight at stations as well as its transportation. In March, 1920, the demurrage charges imposed for holding a car one day beyond the period of free time were increased 100 per cent, and the charges for subsequent days 200 per cent.

—:o:—

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Union Movemet Among Teachers

(By CHARLES STILLMAN, President of the American Federation of Teachers.)

THE rapid growth of the American Federation of Teachers during the past year is exceedingly encouraging to all who appreciate the critical situation faced by our public schools. This national organization of classroom teachers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has increased five-fold in both number of locals and membership, now have issued over a hundred charters to locals representing every section of the country and all classes of public school teachers. An interesting recent development is its extension into the university and normal school fields, where ten charters have been issued.

Though there are several instances of controversies with reactionary school authorities, it is indicative of a wholesome trend of public opinion that in the great majority of cases boards of education and superintendents of schools welcome the new possibilities of closer contact and co-operation with the community opened up by the affiliation of the teachers with the American Federation of Teachers.

There is no space for a detailed account of the substantial achievements of the organized teachers,

but, in brief, our locals in various sections of the country have been able to secure salary increases; important reforms in school administration, such as reduction in size and number of classes, and simplification and improvement in the methods of rating teachers; the election or appointment of progressive boards of education, and the enactment of such legislation as provisions for continuation schools, for free text books, for increases in school revenue and for tenure of position.

And everywhere the teachers have found their most steadfast ally in labor, that great, organized body of parents which is determined that the children of all the people shall have a square educational deal. For labor realizes that the primary factor in the efficiency of the schools is the teachers, that the best of buildings and equipment, without competent teachers, is so much junk.

Teachers in the past have held themselves aloof from the economic and civic interests of the community, and have had little opportunity to develop a living sense of the duties and privileges of citizenship.

Neither, as a rule, have they had any democratic opportunity to give the schools the benefit of the initiative and experienced gained in daily contact with the children in the school room.

Misgoverned cities are a testimony to the inevitable result, the failure of teachers to prepare their pupils

for life under economic, social and civic conditions of which the teachers themselves have no intimate knowledge. Removal of these handicaps through affiliation with labor is a hopeful sign for the future.

Organized labor is giving every assistance in our movement to raise teachers' salaries and to gain for the teacher a democratic voice in the conduct of the schools.

Until teaching offers a self-respecting living and self-respecting conditions of work, young men and women of ability and independent spirit will continue to refuse to prepare themselves for that calling, which is so essential to public welfare, and it will be increasingly difficult to retain experienced teachers in the service which has received such niggardly recognition from the public.

Labor's aid has been effective, not only locally, but nationally, as shown by the support given by the American Federation of Labor to the Smith-Towner bill revised, which now, owing to the amendments to the original Smith bill made at the request of the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Teachers, provides Federal aid in increasing teachers' salaries, and absolutely safeguards state and local autonomy in school administration.

The teachers in the American Federation of Teachers, with their specialized training and experience, affiliated with and backed by the

labor movement, the most powerful and progressive democratic force in our national life and the force most vitally interested in equality of educational opportunity, are conducting a vigorous campaign to make education mean what it should mean in a democracy, a campaign that should enlist every forward-looking teacher, and secure the support of every friend of the schools.

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Boy. — "Aw, mother, get it without a bath." — "Life."

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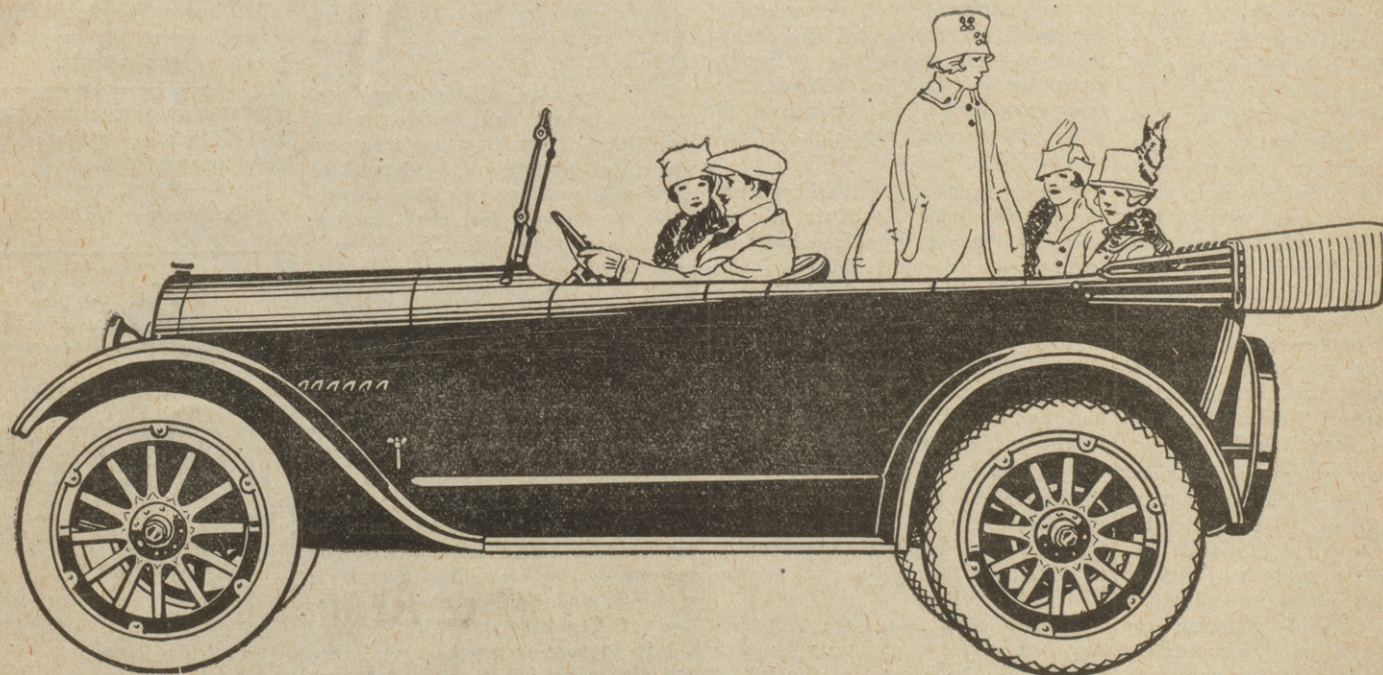
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THE LETTER CARRIERS' QUESTION

(Ottawa Citizen.)

Mr. Rowell's statement in the House last Friday, with regard to the unrest in the postal service, solves nothing. The letter carriers have reached the point where they are considering strike action. But if they go on strike, Mr. Rowell says, "that will be treated as their resignation. Their places will be filled and they will not be reinstated."

Union government may believe that Mr. Rowell has discovered an exceedingly simple method of dealing with unrest among workpeople on limited incomes. But even the most powerful autocracy is liable eventually to pay the reckoning for governing by such methods. Postal workers in Winnipeg were turned loose in the competitive labor market last year by an edict similarly inspired. Some are doubtless still there, among the reserve of unemployed, or casually employed—the essential reserve for keeping down wages, which the government will draw upon when the letter carriers are thrown out in Toronto.

Labor in Canada has been, up till recently, anything but radical: satisfied to elect parliament without one representative wage-earner in it. But the present government is certainly doing more than almost any private employer to cause the pendulum of labor opinion to swing over to the extreme left. Just as surely as the actions of autocracy drove recruits into the democratic forces in the war, Union government is among the most potent recruiting factors for radicalism among the wage-earners in Canada. After the policy of torpedoing the letter carriers' association in Toronto, as threatened by Mr. Rowell, is put into operation, does the government really believe it will have settled anything?.....

The Citizen would urge the letter carriers not to take any precipitate strike action, as the government would immediately proceed to organize a campaign of "public information" against them. There are more effectual methods of securing justice than by striking. The letter carriers' question is the whole Canadian people's question, and united national action is necessary to drive the reactionaries out of their trenches on Parliament Hill.

DRIFTING INTO CHAOS?

(The New Age, London.)

No doubt we have been suspected of alarmism for our efforts to call attention to the fact that our civilization is on fire. It is distressing, in fact, to be serious English publicists in these days, for if we write of the situation as it really is, we are accused of exaggeration, while if we should not, we have no reason for struggling to continue in existence. The opinion of Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, chief of the Imperial general staff, and a man of as much intelligence as military distinction, may, however, be cited in our defence. Addressing the troops of the three services at the Union Jack Club on

Tuesday last, Sir Henry Wilson said: "I hope you men will keep fit and ready for the time is coming... Except in August, 1914, our country and Empire has never needed you more... We are living in ticklish and dangerous times, and our command on land, sea, and in the air is being challenged in various parts of the world... I hope you will carry this—warning, if you like—away with you from a very old soldier who knows what he is talking about." Even after this, however, we doubt whether the general reader can be persuaded to realize what is actually going on in the world. With his eyes shut he is drifting into an era of wars, the end of which may very well be—in all probability will be—the end of European civilization. It is useless, we are afraid, to warn the nation: most of its leaders are mad from one cause or another; and the amount of "free intelligence" upon which to count for the propaganda of the "saving idea" is altogether too small to be effective in the time at our disposal. The responsibility of those who foresee the "smash" and have even a glimmering of the means of avoiding it is tremendous.

MOVIE MAXIMS

THE following suggestions for notices to be put on the screen at motion picture theatres are offered free of charge to theatre managers who may wish to try to protect the majority of their patrons from a minority of disturbers. Notices of the kind are particularly needed in what are known as the "better class" theatres in Montreal, where the conduct of seat holders might have been expected to furnish some example:—

Do Your Gossiping Outside:
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Gentlemen Do Not Spit On The Floor; Others Must Not.

Do Not Read The Lines Aloud;
Other People Can Read, Too.

Another Extortion of The High Cost of Living—Thirty Cents To Hear The Woman In The Next Seat Cackling.

Do Not Tell Everybody Around What Is Coming Next. They Prefer To Use Brains.

If You Look Like a Lady Or a Gentleman, Don't Let Your Voice And Manners Give The Show Away.

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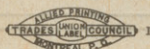
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The Lone Child

THE statement made by Chief of Police Bélanger of Montreal at a small conference of social workers held in the Juvenile Court recently, that there was no institution in Montreal where a child found on the streets can be placed at short notice, is one that should arrest attention of every thinking citizen, especially when this was amplified by the fact that on a recent occasion a young child had been kept at the police station for a week in default of any other shelter. It was most undesirable, added the Chief, that a child should be in a centre where drunks and disreputable women were brought in nightly. Surely that is a condition of affairs that a city which is famed for its institutions should seek to remedy without delay. One recalls an orphanage in the East End of London, England, where the inscription over the portals was: "No destitute child ever refused admission."

Some years ago a legacy came unexpectedly to the City of Montreal from old France, and with the proceeds of that money, the Meurling Refuge was established for the flotsam and jetsam of adult humanity: but in the light of this fact about the lack of such provision for children, most people will surely be of opinion that at least one floor of that building should be reserved for the child who may be found wandering on the streets or who may be taken in with drunken or immoral persons.

The general object of that conference referred to was to devise some means of compelling deserting fathers or mothers to look after their children. Out of the discussion there arose two practical suggestions, one of which was that the Provincial Government should be asked to defray the expenses of bringing deserting parents back to their home, and, second, that as most of these cases arise out of unhappy marital relations, a Domestic Relations Court should be established as an extension of the Juvenile Court. The need, often felt, that prisoners who have been convicted on account of desertion or neglect or fail-

ure to support, should be allowed to receive pay for work, such pay to be assigned to wife and dependents, was again mentioned, but met by the old statement that organized labor has pitted itself against this proposal.

The Society for the Protection of Women and Children, under whose auspices this conference was convened, finds that these desertion cases are seriously on the increase and that it is a difficult matter to procure suitable homes for children thrown upon its hands, particularly if they are physically or mentally defective. The experience of the society more and more indicates the need for placing the welfare of children under a provincial organization, as in Ontario and other provinces, which shall be officially recognized and subsidized by the province. If the province is responsible for educational matters, it should surely be responsible for the primary needs — food, clothing and shelter — of the child.

John Kidman.

Beautiful Kansas

THE governor of Kansas is the hero of all American reactionaries at the present time because of his stand for anti-strike law, the "Kansas plan", for soothing industrial unrest. Kansas already has quite a reputation for social laws directed more or less towards the millenium, and has had a lot of free advertising out of them. But there is reason to suspect that a lot of Kansas laws are like the book of health laws of the city of Chicago which I came across ten years or more ago. It was a finely-bound and finely-printed book, and the laws in it were numerous and searching, evidently the work of keen and sympathetic students of public health. I carried the book around for about two years, extolling its virtues, till I met an expert social worker from Chicago, who agreed that the laws were fine — if only Chicago would attempt to live up to them!

This governor of Kansas who is now in the limelight operated by the reactionaries, who profess to see in him some saviour of mankind, is also governor of the state in which a mob of one thousand persons recently stormed a jail, dragged out a negro "suspected" of a crime, and lynched him in the public streets to the accompaniment of cheers.

K. C.

Fashions at the Convention

(By ROY CARMICHAEL)

THOSE who expected to see hobnailed boots of the old-fashioned kind at the opening of the American Federation of Labor Convention, and who felt the renting of a dance hall to the delegates was a risky affair must have been shocked out of their class consciousness when they came in contact with the vast army of trades unionists who nightly fill the great rotunda of the Windsor Hotel, and who, wearing their badges as identification marks, roam St. Catherine street inspecting with appreciative eyes the displays of our department stores. After an experience of twenty years as a reporter attending all kinds of conventions I can safely say that the American Federation of Labor takes a back seat to none of them when it comes a matter of good taste in personal attire.

Look for Secretary Frank Morrison at night and what do you see? A prosperous middle-aged gentleman intelligent of face, authoritative of mien, and wearing — ye gods — a tuxedo! I am assured by a tailor friend that the clothes worn by most of the delegates are "snappy, up-to-the-minute garments" and not by any means the indiscriminate product of the bargain counter. The Panama hats of some of the delegates aroused the envy of their local brethren, to say nothing of the scribes, and St. Catherine street can supply nothing classier in footwear than the conference can show.

All this is exactly as it should be. Labor is no longer the brow-beaten under dog. It is enjoying as it should do a fairer share of those things that make for dignity and self assurance, and it realizes to the full that a man is never more truly master of himself than when he is conscious of being as well dressed as the average. To have attained the stage of being inconspicuously attired, so that no Sherlock Holmes can tell one's occupation by one's garb, is to have stepped into a new brotherhood — the brotherhood of self-respecting citizens.

Can Life be Decently Maintained

(Social Welfare, Toronto).

WHEN 64 per cent. of the women employees in one typical women's industry in Toronto receive less than \$10.00 a week?

When 10 per cent. of the women employees in another receive \$10.00 or less per week?

When 26.9 per cent. in another receive \$12.00 or less?

When 11.32 per cent. in another receive \$6.00 or less?

When 22.64 per cent. in the same industry receive \$7.00 or less?

When 36.80 per cent. in this same industry receive \$8.00 or less?

And when, in yet another industry, in which women have always been employed, "14.8 per cent. receive \$6.00 per week or lower, and 64.8 per cent. receive \$10.00 or lower?"

And this in the Province of Ontario, in the year of our Lord 1920, when investigations which have been carried on in various industrial centres in the province for this purpose prove absolutely that the very lowest price at which a working girl can obtain even very ordinary "board and lodging" is \$8.00 per week. Clothing, recreation, medical needs, out-of-work or illness allowances, personal incidentals—none of these are included. At the minimum they can scarcely be placed at less than \$6.00 per week, additional. For decent human sustenance, without any provision for savings or emergencies, a girl must earn \$14.00 per week, at least. Yet our investigation, as herein quoted, shows that 94 per cent. of the girls in one of the best paid industries receive less than \$20.00 per week, while the above quotations comprise records of women workers' wages in possibly the four most representative women's industries.

Can a girl live decently on this income! She cannot, without detriment to her health from under nourishment or unfit housing conditions. She cannot, and be free from the constant agonizing worry of inability to provide for the "rainy day", which is bound to come, sooner or later. She cannot, and know any hours of relaxation and pleasure when the hours of toil are done, for in the modern social order, even the simplest of amusements has become commercialized, while the congested community life of our industrial centres means that even a stroll, a picnic, a swim requires the expense of transportation which, on \$6.00, \$8.00 or \$10.00 a week, may create a real problem. It is only natural that the girl welcomes as a delivering St. George any person who can provide company, pleasure, relief from the constantly clutching fingers of demands for her modest supplies. And the same fact explains her almost hectic response to a little excitement, the flippancy of her attitude, the

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Sir Auckland Geddes, British ambassador to the United States, while giving a warning that "civilization is in danger", said:

"In Europe we know that an age is dying. A realization of the aimlessness of life lived to labor and to die, having achieved nothing but avoidance of starvation and the birth of children also doomed to the weary treadmill, has seized the minds of millions."

apparent shallowness of her consideration for anything but a little enjoyment—and, more disastrous, the gradual development of these as permanent traits. Without lengthy correlations and connections, it is evident that the underpayment of wage-earning women explains in some measure not only many of our "young people's problems", but winds an unerring coil into the heart of many family problems—into the centre of family desertion cases, broken homes, juvenile court records—and into much of our public health work. Employment conditions and life engender in the girl simply the desire, the vow to escape them, to assume any obligation, to accept any alternative as their escape—and to many marriage offers the readiest avenue. Without home-keeping training, without a sense of responsibility, without any idea of giving as well as taking, without the mental and spiritual equipment to create any atmosphere of home, the girl rushes in relief from a life of toil too often to a life of toil and despair, not only for herself but others, and a second generation runs again the records of its parents.

The question of underpayment of any worker is a question of justice, surely, as much as it is economic. The underpayment of the woman worker, unprotected by organization, more open to exploitation by reason of her limitations, untrained in the traditions and "ways" of gaining her own by reason of the transitory nature of her place in the employment strata—surely this become seven more than a question of justice, even one of the applications of the principles of morality to our business relations.

The Social Service Council of Ontario has petitioned and interviewed the Provincial Government requesting the introduction of a Minimum Wage Bill for Women Workers, this session. To this request consent has been given. British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Quebec have all enacted such laws. It becomes the duty of every citizen of Ontario to instruct his or her representative in the Ontario House, that their voice and vote shall be given in support of this bill when it is offered.

This Paris Employer Realizes Social Duties to His Employees

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Paris, June 3.

The oft repeated statement that the workman who has risen from the ranks of labor to a place in the hierarchy of the capitalists, is more inclined to grind down his employees than is the capitalist born and bred, finds refutation at the present moment in Paris in the person of Mr. J. Louaisil, one of the biggest manufacturing furriers in France. Furriers throughout Canada and the United States know this great manufacturer well. Possibly they do not know that while he employs some twelve hundred members of the Fur Workers' Union as his two big plants, he was at one time a member of the union himself.

The other day, he, of all the members of the Association of French Furriers, dared to forsake the stand of his fellow manufacturers and to grant without reservation all the demands made by the Fur Workers' Union. While the other furriers were debating a possible compromise Mr. Louaisil granted the last sou. He did not take to himself any credit for his action. He is merely impatient of the others' delay. His attitude on the question appears to be something like this. "A workingman myself, I know that the workingman is demanding no more than he needs and earns. It is only just that he should have it. Why quibble about it?"

Nor does Mr. Louaisil's interest in his employees stop with the increase of their wages. The extensive social welfare work projected and in operation by the firm of Louaisil and Company, 46 Rue des Jeûneurs, Paris, has attracted widespread attention in France, even though an advanced stage of development in social work has been reached in that democracy. Mr. Louaisil has very decided ideas on the subject of an employer's responsibility, under present social conditions, for the welfare of his employees.

There are, for instance, many married women in his employ, for in France the majority of the women as well as the men work outside the homes. To every woman about to bear a child, two months' leave is granted with full pay; that is, a month before and a month after the birth of the child. The company is about to open a medical department largely for the benefit of mothers and young children. The doctor to be installed by the company will be at the service of the employees without charge to them. But Mr. Louaisil is opposed to forcing assistance upon his workers. "No employee will be forced to consult our doctor," he says; "if he has more faith in his own physician we shall certainly not interfere."

The opening of a nursery under the charge of an experienced trained nurse, who will care for the babies while the mothers are at work, is part of Mr. Louaisil's plan that is shortly to become an accomplished fact. Mothers who nurse their children will be permitted to spend three half-hour periods in the nursery each day without loss of pay; and food and medical attention will be provided for them without charge.

This system for the welfare of the young has been adopted by the fur manufacturer from the pattern set by the big department stores in Paris. The life of the child is a matter of such enormous importance to a country which, on the top of a declining birth-rate, has been denuded of its finest manhood, that not only the State, but every private agency and industry, has set itself to the task of saving babies for France. France's industrial system has long demanded that the wife of the family be a breadwinner as well as the husband. It is thus possible for the shops and factories to obtain the charge in the daytime of the infant children. The result to the children has been astoundingly beneficial. The Galeries Lafayette, one of Paris's huge department stores employing five thousand persons, has a record of having lost only two babies among the hundreds who have passed through its nurseries since their establishment about seven years ago. Children remain in the nurseries until they are old enough to be sent to school. Mothers having children thus cared for are permitted to leave their work half an hour before closing time so that they may get the youngsters ready for their journey home.

Louaisil, the furrier, is adopting just such a programme. It remains to be seen whether he will go as far as the Bon Marché, another of the big department stores, and permit a mother who nurses her child to remain at home, if she prefers, for ten months after the birth of the infant, receiving all that time a special pension of 120 francs a month.

For the benefit of his employees, Mr. Louaisil has opened a restaurant where a midday meal is served for the sum of one franc fifty. In such days as these, when it is only by careful perusal of a menu that even a five franc luncheon can be secured at the cheapest of Paris's restaurants, such a measure is a benefit indeed. The luncheon served consists of hors-d'oeuvres, meat, vegetables, dessert and coffee. The food is good and there is plenty of it. There is no stinting of butter, (and many a workman's family sees very little of butter today with the price at nine francs the pound) and frozen meat is not permitted. Such service costs money but Mr. Louaisil explains that the expense is reduced to a minimum advantageous buying. Many of the food products required in the Paris restaurant are brought from Vitry in Brittany where the company operates a second factory and a second restaurant. No employee

the company's restaurant. A proportion are able to go home for the meal. A few prefer near-by restaurants, but the great majority are only too pleased to take advantage of the opportunity offered to them. At Vitry, where the company employs over seven hundred persons, the midday meal is served for a franc. And because Breton families are large, Mr. Louaisil is going to put a new plan into operation at Vitry. The company will open a family restaurant where not only the employees themselves but also their families can be served at reduced prices. The proposed scale is one franc fifty for the man, one franc for his wife and fifty centimes for his child.

Almost needless to say, each youngster will eat more than five cents worth, which is what fifty centimes represents in Canadian money at the present rate of exchange, but the conviction, that prevails throughout all classes in France, that child life must be preserved at all costs, is animating Mr. Louaisil.

A system of co-operative buying also prevails for the benefit of employees of the firm. Orders of all kinds are booked at the office, and as soon as the amount, say, of breakfast chocolate, is large enough to run into wholesale quantities, an order is placed for fifty or a hundred pounds, as the case may be, and the article is thereupon distributed to the purchasers by the company, the latter making nothing on the transaction. In Vitry the scheme has been developed to a still greater extent. A plan has been devised by which employees are given a card which enables them to purchase, for instance, meat from a certain butcher on the company's account. In this way Louaisil and Company become very important customers, and produce firms are more than glad to make large concessions to capture the trade of such a purchaser.

The paternalism of Henry Ford is the last thing which Mr. Louaisil wishes to imitate. His sympathies are absolutely with labor; he has proved it again and again. His position is a difficult one and more than once he has been at odds with his fellow fur manufacturers. But they admire Louaisil; they are a bit proud of him too. They criticize him, of course. His refusal to join their deliberations towards compromise the other day, and his immediate concession to the demands of the fur workers, found no favor with them. But nevertheless they are all his friends, and to the outside world they are fond of pointing him out as a capitalist who rose from the ranks.

Bernice.

Is Laborer's First Line of Defence

No fraternal or benefit organization has ever aided the worker to secure a reduction in his hours of labor or an increase in his rate of wages, or improvement in his industrial environments. That work is the exclusive role of the trade union. Wherever you find a reduction in the is forced to purchase his luncheon in hours of labor, the trade union is behind it, wherever there is an increase in the wage rate, the same potent influence it as work; wherever the worker has improved his condition, in 999 out of every 1,000 cases you can safely place it to the credit of a labor organization. Fraternal societies and religious institutions may have a work to perform but the hope of labor lies in the trade union movement alone.

The hostility of many employers to members of trade organizations rests solely on the ground that union workmen demand what they consider just wages, while the average non-union employee takes what he can get. The one gets his rights through organization, the other suffers through the weakness of individual effort, and the weakness of the latter is the unjust employer's opportunity.

—o:—

There were some politicians,

As I have heard them say,

Who all went a-hunting

Upon a winter's day.

And all the day they hunted,

But nothing could they find,

Except a bloated profiteer,

And him they left behind.

One said, "A profiteer?"

Another, he said, "Yea!"

T'others said, "Let's cook his
goose—

Upon a future day!"

And all the night they hunted,

But nothing could they find

Except some homeless heroes

A shivering in the wind.

One said, "This grieves us
sore!"

"Let's stop and build," said
they,

"Houses fit for heroes—

Upon another day!"

And all the day they hunted.

And nothing could they find

But a corner in some food-stuffs,

And that they left behind.

One said, "It is a Trust!"

Another, he said, "Yea!"

T'others said, "Let's crush it
flat—

Upon another day!"

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It will wage warfare on plutocracy, despotism, economic privileges and upon all the evil forces which burden the people and rob them of that happiness of living which is their fundamental right.

It is a non-partisan educational and political association, and because of the manner in which it is organized can never become the instrument or plaything of a small group of any class, particularly of wealthy men. The aim is the attainment of true democracy.

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To support all municipal, provincial and federal educational plans where the evident purpose is to raise the standard of education in enlightened and progressive ways; to present truthfully and fearlessly through the medium of Fifth Sunday Meetings and our own press, the "Canadian Railroader", the latest and most important political, social and industrial developments;

To advocate the abolition of property qualifications for the franchise or for election to public office; the adoption of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, and of proportional representation in all forms of public government; universal suffrage for both sexes, on the basis of one person one vote; the transfer of taxes from improvements, and all products of labor, to land values, incomes and inheritances;

To advocate prison reform, including introduction of the honor and segregation systems, and abolition of contract labor; the enactment and rigid enforcement of child labor laws; pensions for mothers with dependent children; regulation of immigration to prevent lowering of industrial, political or social standards; development of the postal savings and parcel post systems; financial and other assistance to farmers through co-operative banks and by other means; government development of co-operative producing and trading associations for the benefit of the consumer;

To advocate extension of workmen's housing schemes and the labor bureau system; provision of technical education for every willing worker according to his capacities; more effective inspection of buildings, factories, workshops and mines; minimum wages; a rest period of not less than a day and a half per week for every worker; government insurance of workers against sickness, injury and death; maternity benefits and old-age pensions; better Workmen's Compensation Acts; representation of the workers on all public boards and on boards for the supervision of private enterprises; union labor conditions in all government work; adequate pensions and opportunities for soldiers and their dependents;

To advocate freedom of speech and of the press, and a law compelling all newspapers and periodicals to publish in all issues a complete list of shareholders and bondholders.

"The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada" is financed entirely by its members who contribute \$2 a year in membership fees. If a local has been established in your city \$1 remains in the local treasury and the other dollar is sent by the local organization to our Dominion Headquarters, 60 Dandurand Building, Montreal, Que. In case no local has been established in your community, send the membership fee of \$2 directly to Dominion Headquarters.

The funds accumulating in the Dominion Headquarters are used for political and educational propaganda; the development of the organization; the preparation of pamphlets and leaflets and the financing of the various political campaigns where favorable opportunities develop, to elect our candidates. The treasurer is under bond and the books are audited by a firm of accountants.

An application blank will be found below. Merely fill out the application blank, buy a postal order for \$2 and send it to Dominion Headquarters. Your membership card will be forwarded by return mail. Join this great organization in the interests of education and clean politics. Today is the day and this is the hour. Become a member now.

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Government by Injunction

(By JACKSON H. RALSTON, in the *Cornell Law Quarterly*.)

Jackson H. Ralston, who writes the following article on "Government by Injunction" from a legal standpoint, is of the Washington, D. C., bar. He is author of "International Arbitral Law and Procedure," and was umpire of the Italian-Venezuelan Claims Commission of 1903:

For about twenty years much has been said in public print and discussion about government by injunction. Trade unions have denounced it, others have accepted their position, and yet it is doubtful whether today a clear conception of what is meant by the term exists in the public mind, nor is there general knowledge of the evils attendant upon the thing itself. The writer hopes that this brief review of the subject may serve to incite others to give it more detailed consideration.

The feeling has existed during all the period of discussion that by gradual process the ordinary functions of government, exercised by those who are directly responsible to the people who selected them, or usually administered according to the common sense of the community as represented by the conclusions of a jury, were being subverted, while the powers of the judiciary were correspondingly growing and expanding.

It has seemed to the trade unionists that it was the design of our institutions that all crime and charges of crime, whether murder, treason, assault and battery, contempt of court or what else, should be tried by jury. In so far as jury trial was denied and offences were created to be dealt with directly by the court without grand or petty jury, a new form of government was called into existence and the old form supplanted to the prejudice of the accused.

Particularly in the class of offences which have been created by recent judicial extensions of law, it has been unfortunate that the accused should be deprived of trial by jury, with the rules attendant upon it. Under what we shall explain to be government by injunction the presumption of innocence, signifying so much before a jury, has meant little, and the old principle of the common law that guilt should be determined beyond a reasonable doubt, and not by a preponderance of evidence, has absolutely gone by the board.

Let us give one or two practical instances. If two men have an encounter, one being assailed by the other, under ordinary circumstances the assailant is tried by a jury and the usual presumption and rules of evidence are adhered to. If assault occurs exactly under parallel circumstances save that the assailant has been enjoined from the use of violence, and the issue is tried before the court as a contempt, a different condition arises. If the trial be had

before a judge whose temper is ruffled in the beginning by the alleged circumstance that his order has been disobeyed, theoretically a presumption of innocence may exist, practically it is of no value. Again the bare preponderance of evidence will control, the criminal rule as to reasonable doubt being ignored. Besides, after having been punished for contempt of court in this manner, the assumed guilty party is still subject to the ordinary processes of criminal law. In the administration of the penalty the judge will not concede himself bound by any limitation, save when expressly fixed by the statute; and may, and often does, inflict a punishment disproportionate to the gravity of the offence.

Sweeping injunctions, often of doubtful interpretation, are issued, and the care and preservation of public order are assumed by a single judge, controlled by no rule save his own fancy and unconsciously biased by the public opinion of the circle in which he moves. The unionist fears lest his slightest and most innocent action may be misunderstood, and that, without the protection of a jury and under a summary process of contempt, he may find himself in jail, the use of the funds he has collected enjoined, the issuance of strike orders prohibited and the entire operations of the organization which he has built up for his protection paralyzed. It becomes a mockery to him that upon appeal, if error has been committed, his rights will be restored to him. They may not be, and if they are, the opportunity for their effective exercise has so far passed that the correction

made by the appellate court is of no possible value.

The effect of judicial interference with a strike, at least from the point of view of the laborer, is well illustrated by the quotation from testimony given by a striker before the United States strike commission and quoted by the court in "Re Debs", as follows:

"As soon as the employees found that we were arrested, and taken from the scene of action, they became demoralized, and that ended the strike. It was not the soldiers that ended the strike. It was simply the United States courts that ended the strike. Our men were in a position that never would have been shaken, under any circumstances, if we had been permitted to remain upon the field among them. Once we were taken from the field of action, and restrained from sending telegrams or issuing orders or answering questions, then the minions of the corporations would be put to work. Our headquarters were temporarily demoralized and abandoned, and we could not answer any messages. The men went back to work, and the ranks were broken and the strike was broken up, not by the army, and not by any other power, but simply and solely by the action of the United States courts in restraining us from discharging our duties as officers and representatives of the employees."

The court inferred from the fact that judicial processes had broken the strike that the great body of those who were engaged in the transactions prohibited contemplated neither rebellion nor revolution, which was of course correct. The court further inferred, however, that "when in the due order of legal proceedings the question of right or wrong was submitted to the courts and by them decided they unhesitat-

ingly yielded to their decision." This hardly seems to us a just inference. They did not yield without hesitation, such yielding implying abnegation of one's own opinions. They yielded because back of the courts they knew rested physical power superior to their own, and they knew that the power would be exercised in such way as to deny them, through process of contempt, those safeguards which English and American judicial experience has shown to be necessary for the preservation of individual and personal rights.

The "Debs" case furnished a precedent for the quite recent suit on behalf of the government against the Mine Workers of America, in which, on the far fetched suggestion that the government was not able to properly carry on its function of operating railroads, and would be exposed to a monetary deficiency because of the miners' strike, the association and its officers were enjoined, and by mandatory injunction compelled, to cancel the strike order and issue an order directing the men to return to work. While the court, with apparent cheerfulness, granted this injunction, its enforcement proved practically impossible against the passive resistance of the men, which resistance forced a settlement on the part of the government. Nevertheless the working men of the country felt outraged because of this appeal to a court of equity in a matter which might, and could have been, settled without judicial intervention. This illustration created anew a feeling of resentment against government by injunction which will not soon subside.

With a strong feeling on the part of working men, caused by repeated court experiences that, as against the judicial arm, the most justifiable strike was bound to meet with defeat, we need not wonder that a strenuous agitation broke out and continues, having for its purpose the doing away with the government by injunction.

The "Debs" case illustrates the entire willingness of the government to ask courts to substitute contempt proceedings for the ordinary process of law. Many times private individuals, before and after this case, had, with success and with constant widening of equity jurisdiction, appealed to the courts to take action beneficial to the employer and deadly to the most orderly operations of trade unions. A notable instance of the unhappy result of appeals to contempt processes was in the "Buck's Stove and Range" case. On two occasions this case went to the Supreme Court of the United States. The history of the successive appeals is too long to be given in full. It is sufficient for the present purpose to say that for contempt of court twice Samuel Gompers was sentenced to jail to serve one year, John Mitchell to serve nine months, and Frank Morrison to serve six months. Upon the first appeal reaching the Supreme Court of

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the United States, that body declared the proceeding to be so irregular as to be void, the court below in an action for civil contempt having pronounced a criminal sentence. The Supreme Court, however, reserved the right to the trial court to prosecute as for criminal contempt. On the second occasion the proceedings for criminal contempt were successfully defeated in the Supreme Court by the plea of the statute of limitations.

In these cases the same judge pronounced the two sentences. That he was passionate and prejudiced in his actions, is a very mild statement. That the sentences pronounced were so disproportionately severe as to tend to bring about their own reversal can scarcely be questioned. The essential fact remains, however, that, unjust and harsh as the action of the court was, if the defendants had been so situated as to have been unable to give bond, they might have served their entire period of confinement before the final action of the Supreme Court.

It need not be wondered at, therefore, that the result of the "Buck's Stove and Range" case was to intensify the feeling that the untrammelled judicial exercise of the contempt power was too dangerous to be longer permitted. As a result we find Congress passing the Clayton Act, to which we can only give passing attention.

One of the objects of the Clayton Act was to withdraw from the courts the absolute power and con-

trol they have exercised for the punishment for contempt, making it possible to secure a jury trial. Another was to take away from them, save under conditions of disorder, the power of immediate issuance of restraining orders in cases of disputes between employers and employees, or between persons employed and persons seeking employment, growing out of conditions affecting terms or conditions of employment, unless necessary to prevent injury to property or property rights of the complainant for which injury there was no adequate remedy of law. Furthermore, restraining orders and injunctions were no longer allowed to prohibit any persons or persons, singly or in combination, from striking or recommending, advising, or threatening, or peacefully picketing or urging others to cease to patronize or to employ any party to the dispute, or from withholding strike benefits, or from peaceably assembling in a lawful manner and for lawful purposes or from doing any act or acts which might lawfully be done in the absence of such dispute by any party thereto, and none of these acts under such circumstances were to be considered or held to be violative of any law of the United States.

The act further prescribed that labor organizations should not be held or construed to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade under the anti-trust laws.

It would seem that under the Clayton Act the doctrine of the case of "Loewe v. Lawlor" was set aside, as none of the actions condemned therein exceeded those which are now allowed under the Clayton Act, and which may not be held to be or considered violative of any law of the United States.

A large part of the contentions of the labor organizations was thus won when the Clayton Act was passed, but labor organizations have not yet been placed upon the same clear liberal footing assured them by the British Trade Act of 1906, which provided that "An act done in pursuance of an agreement or combination of two or more persons shall, if done in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, not be actionable unless the act is done without any such agreement or combination would be actionable."

The effect of the Clayton Act has been recognized in a number of cases in the federal courts and its constitutionality has never been denied.

A law similar in effect to the Clayton Act is in force in the state of Arizona. Its constitutionality under the Federal Constitution was attacked but the lower court and the Supreme Court of Arizona sustained it. An appeal was had to the Supreme Court of the United States and the case has been submitted at the present term. Should the Supreme Court reverse the action of the Supreme Court of Arizona the incidental but essential effect of the decision would be to declare the operative parts of the Clayton Act unconstitutional.

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It will be borne in mind that the Clayton Act applies merely to such suits as may be brought in the federal courts. While some of the states have enacted provisions similar in tenor to the Clayton Act, in the vast body of the states of the union acts done in combination are held to be illegal in a case of trade disputes where the several disconnected acts of individuals would be held innocent.

This leads us to the observation that, while our courts have, time and again, held that acts innocent as to individuals may become criminal when done in combination, no court has yet given any logical reason for such conclusion. The theoretical basis for the action of courts will not be discovered by reading the reports. It has never been formulated. The approach to an explanation we shall see is in the use of a single word.

The courts of equity in reaching the conclusion they entertained as to combinations, particularly with regard to labor cases, seem to have imported into equity, with extensions, the principle of conspiracy accepted at common law by the criminal courts, and in so doing have directly legislated. The old idea of conspiracy, so often enunciated by the courts, is that it consists in a combination of several to do an act unlawful in itself or to do a lawful act by unlawful means. As a rule, barring, of course, the employment of violence in any way, the act of boycotting is not unlawful in itself

if indulged in by a single individual, the means employed by that individual not being in themselves unlawful. No fundamental change of character occurs when the same act is performed by several.

The courts of equity, when acting adversely to the labor organizations, have departed from this fundamental principle and have never thought it worth while to elaborate the theory upon which they have acted. True they have sometimes said that the vice in the action by several has been in the combination and the vice of the combination in its greater power to inflict real injury. But the ability to inflict such injury may, and often is, greater in the case of a single individual than in that of a combination, which in point of fact may be impotent. Yet the single individual may do just as he sees fit with his property, voice and power (not breaking any law), his action not being condemned by any court.

This is illustrated by the cases of *Payne vs. Railroad Co.*, and *Heywood vs. Wilson*, wherein single individuals, acting within their lawful powers, virtually ruined their neighbors. A different rule of law has been repeatedly applied as to combinations among merchants or manufacturers from that invoked against trade unions.

The courts have acted very much upon the idea of the Earl of Halsbury in the case of *Quinn vs. Leatham*, wherein he said: "I entirely deny that it (*Allen vs. Flood*, Appeal Cases 1, 1898) can be quoted for a proposition that may seem to follow logically from it. Such a mode of reasoning assumes that the law is necessarily a logical code, whereas every lawyer must acknowledge that the law is not always logical at all."

This frank comment may account for many of the eccentricities indulged in by the courts in labor cases and serve in a measure to further explain existing opposition to government by injunction.

Dominion Bridge steel erectors to the number of 400 are on strike for \$1.10 an hour for inside and \$1.25 an hour for outside men. The strikers refused the company's offer of a 21 per cent increase which would have given inside men 85 cents an hour and outside men a dollar an hour.

Father was safe. — "Two men got into a fight in front of the bank to-day," said a man at the family tea-table, "and I tell you it looked pretty bad for one of them. The bigger one seized a huge stick and brandished it. I felt that he was going to knock the other's brains out, and I jumped in between them."

The family had listen with rapt attention, and as he paused in his narrative the young heir, whose respect for his father's bravery is immeasurable, proudly remarked:

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Gloves

BOB Knows What You Need Boys --- He's Been Through the Game

PLAY SAFE AND BUY BOB LONG GLOVES OVERALLS AND SHIRTS

All Union Made and By the Son of an Old Engine Driver

Ask Your Dealer
For These Lines

Our number 972 Engineer's Gauntlet
Our number 957 Fireman's Glove
Our number 1959-s Brakeman's Glove

No. 972 is made with lock stitch seam. No. 957 and No. 1959-S are made with Samson Seam.

Our number 59 Big Blue Overalls

Our number 4330 Big Plain Blue Railroad Shirt

DON'T FORGET THE NUMBERS, BOYS, I MADE THEM FOR YOU—BOB LONG

R. G. LONG & CO., LIMITED,

TORONTO